

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 SS-15 NSC-10 NSCE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 TRSE-00 MBFR-04 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 H-03

DRC-01 USIE-00 OMB-01 /118 W
----- 103214

O R 291700Z SEP 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1853

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4622

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES

GENEVA FOR USDEL

SUMMARY. RECENT CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS HERE INDICATE THAT WE MAY HAVE INCREASING DIFFICULTY IN REACHING EARLY AGREEMENT IN NATO ON PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES. UK REMAINS OPPOSED TO INCLUSION OF NON-U.S. NATO FORCES BUT NETHERLANDS AND FRG FAVOR MULTILATERAL MEASURES. FRG DEL MAY MAKE LAST MINUTE PROPOSAL TO WIDEN AREA OF APPLICATION DESPITE STRONG REQUEST PRIVATELY BY U.S. AND OTHERS THAT THEY NO DO SO. AMONG OTHER DIFFICULTIES, SUCH A MOVE BY FRG COULD JEOPARDIZE FRAGILE COMPROMISE WITH TURKEY ON STUDY OF STABILIZING MEASURES OUTSIDE NATO GUIDELINES AREA. UK, NORWAY AND FRG CONTINUE TO POINT TO INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONFIDENCE-BUILDING
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MEASURES IN CSCE FRAMEWORK AND MBFR STABILIZING MEASURES. ACTION REQUESTED:

SPC NEXT WEEK MAY BE ABLE TO FIND SOME FORMULATION TO PAPER OVER

DIFFERENCES AND REMOVE BRACKETS FROM PAPER, BUT IT NOW APPEARS
LIKELY THAT ISSUE OF PARTICIPATION BY NON-U.S. NATO FORCES
WILL BE FINALLY RESOLVED ONLY IN CONTEXT OF STUDY
OF MORE DETAILED PROPOSAL. THIS UNDERLINES NEED FOR EARLY
U.S. CONTRIBUTION ON PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES. END SUMMARY.

1. ON SEPTEMBER 27 AND 28, MISSION OFFICER HAD SEVERAL PRIVATE
DISCUSSIONS WITH CONCERNED DELEGATIONS TO FIND RESOLUTION OF
CURRENT ALLIED DIFFERENCES OVER PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES.
PRESENT NATO TEXT LISTS FOLLOWING MEASURES (UK BRACKETS AROUND THE
LAST THREE);

(I) PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MOVEMENTS OF US AND SOVIET FORCES INTO
THE AREA INCLUDING ROTATIONS;

(II) PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES IN THE AREA;

(III) LIMITS ON SIZE, LOCATION, NUMBER AND DURATION OF MAJOR
EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES IN THE AREA;

(IV) EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES
IN THE AREA.

2. UK. IN RESPONSE TO PRESSURE FROM U.S. (PER STATE 191312)
TO REACH ALLIED CONSENSUS ON THESE MEASURES, UK DEL HAS BEEN COMM-
UNICATING ACTIVELY WITH LONDON IN EFFORT TO FIND SOLUTION. LONDON
APPARENTLY REMAINS DOUBTFUL OVER ADVISABILITY OF INCLUDING EUROPEAN
ALLIED FORCES IN PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES, PARTICULARLY OUT OF CONCERN
FOR POSSIBLE ADVERSE IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE EUROPEAN DEFENSE
EFFORTS,
UK DEL INITIALLY INTENDED TO PROPOSE THAT MEASURES BE REMANDED TO
MBFR WORKING GROUP, BUT MISSION OFFICER URGED IN PRIVATE
CONVERSATION THAT UK NOT PURSUE THE SUGGESTION, SINCE U.S. VIEWED
WORKING GROUP AS ESSENTIALLY A TECHNICAL ADVISORY BODY AND
BELIEVE THAT NEGOTIATING PROPOSALS SHOULD BE EXAMINED PRINCIPALLY
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IN NAC/SPC. AFTER CONSULTATIONS WITH LONDON, UK DEL TOLD US
THAT THEY WOULD NOT FORWARD WORKING GROUP IDEA AT THIS TIME.
THEY MENTIONED THAT, IF U.S. WERE TO SUPPORT IT, THEY MIGHT BE ABLE
TO AGREE TO SUGGESTION BY BELGIUM AT SEPTEMBER 20 SPC MEETING
(U.S. NATO 4446) THAT ALLIES AGREE NOW THAT THESE MEASURES WOULD
APPLY TO U.S. AND SOVIET FORCES, WHILE HOLDING OUT FOR URGENT
CONSIDERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE THE POSSIBILITY OF PARTICIPATION
BY NON-U.S. NATO FORCES. TO GO THIS FAR, LONDON WOULD ALSO NEED
VERBAL ASSURANCE BY THE U.S. IN SPC THAT THE U.S. HAD CAREFULLY
CONSIDERED THE APPLICATION OF THESE MEASURES TO U.S. FORCES AND
HAD CONCLUDED THAT THEY WOULD NOT DIMINISH ALLIED SECURITY.
MISSION OFFICER SAID HE WOULD SEEK INSTRUCTIONS. (REQUEST GUIDANCE
ON THIS POINT.) HE ADDED THAT ALTHOUGH WE COULD RELUCTANTLY JOIN
A CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF BELGIAN APPROACH,
IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO GET SUPPORT FROM FRG AND NETHERLANDS FOR

IDEA OF SEPARATING U.S. AND NON-U.S. NATO FORCES

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3. FRG. FRG DELOFF INFORMED US PRIVATELY OF SHIFT IN FRG POSITION ON PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES. HE MADE AME POINTS AS THOSE REPORTED IN BONN 14117 BUT ADDED AS FURTHER IMPORTANT ELEMENT THAT MEASURES SHOULD BE OPEN TO PARTICIPATION BY ALL COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. US, UK AND DUTCH DELOFFS HAVE ALL URGED GERMAN DEL NOT REPEAT NOT TO TABLE THIS PROPOSAL, SINCE EACH OF THEM WILL HAVE TO REJECT IT OUTRIGHT. U.S. MISSION OFFICER CAUTIONED THAT SUCH A STEP COULD ALSO ENDANGER FRAGILE COMPROMISE FORMULATION WITH TURKEY ON STABILIZING MEASURES TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS.

4. MISSION OFFICER ASKED FRG AND DUTCH DELOFFS IF THEY COULD POSSIBLY ACCEPT BELGIAN PROPOSAL FOR HANDLING ISSUE. THEY RESPONDED THAT APPLICATION TO U.S. FORCES ONLY WOULD CREATE LESS DIFFICULTY IN USING THE TERM "IN THE AREA" THAN WOULD INCLUSION OF EUROPEAN FORCES, BUT, AT THE SAME TIME, THEY WISH TO AVOID SEPARAT ION

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OF U.S. AND NON-U.S. NATO FORCES. MISSION OFFICER SAID THAT BELGIAN FORMULA WOULD NOT EXCLUDE NON-U.S. FORCES FROM THESE MEASURES

INDEFINITELY, BUT WOULD CALL FOR URGENT STUDY AND RESOLUTION OF THIS
ISSUE. (COMMENT: IF FRG AND DUTCH REPS IN FORTHCOMING SPC DISCUSSIONS
ARE ABLE TO ACCEPT BELGIAN PROPOSAL, WE PRESUME THAT WASHINGTON
WILL BE ABLE TO GO ALONG (STATE 191312). IT MAY OF COURSE, PROVE
IMPOSSIBLE FIND COMPROMISE FORMULATION NEXT WEEK AND TEXT MAY REMAIN
IN BRACKETS. WHATEVER FORMULATION SPC MAY FIND, THE ISSUE OF
PARTICIPATION
BY NON-U.S. NATO FORCES WILL BE DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE. FURTHER
PROGRESS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE IN THE CONTEXT OF CONSULTATIONS IN NATO ON

AMORE DETAILED PROPOSAL FOR PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES, AND THUS MISSIO
HOPES THAT U.S. CONTRIBUTION ON THIS SUBJECT WILL BE AVAILABLE SHORTL
Y).

5. BOTH IN THESE PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS IN EARLIER SPC
DISCUSSIONS, DUTCH, UK AND NORWEGIAN REPS INDICATED NEED FOR
WATCHING CSCE DEVELOPMENTS ON CBM'S CLOSELY, BECAUSE OF THEIR
LIKELY IMPLICATIONS FOR MBFR CONSTRAINTS. THEY CONSIDER THAT
SOVIET AGREEMENT TO LESS-RESTRICTIVE CBMS (INCLUDING "MOVEMENTS").
COULD IMPROVE PROSPECTS FOR MORE BINDING AGREEMENTS OF SIMILAR
CHARACTER IN MBFR. FRG NOW APPEARS TO HAVE JOINED THIS SCHOOL OF
THOUGHT.
RUMSFELD

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